

# NEW MILITANT

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## Workers Party Calls All Revolutionary Workers to Join the Socialist Party

THE Cleveland convention of the Socialist Party finally smashed the Old Guard domination, and the Old Guard withdrew. By rejecting the Old Guard, the convention ratified the slogan of an inclusive, democratic party, open to all who stand for the goal of socialism and who are willing to work loyally within the framework of the party.

From these two significant developments we draw two conclusions:

1. By breaking with the Old Guard and by opening its doors to revolutionary workers, the Socialist Party becomes the best rallying ground for the revolutionary forces in building the party of the American proletarian revolution.

2. Taking the militant Socialists at their word, the revolutionary workers outside the Socialist Party should immediately join it.

Acting on these conclusions, the National Committee of the Workers Party, exercising the authority expressly given to it by the party convention, has formally dissolved the organization and all its members are joining the Socialist Party. The Spartacus Youth League has taken similar action to join the Young People's Socialist League.

These conclusions, and the actions proceeding from them, are the result of a careful and concrete analysis of the course of development of the Socialist Party during the last two years.

### Turning Point at Detroit

The Detroit convention of the Socialist Party in 1934 marked a decisive turning point in the history of the movement. The Declaration of Principles then adopted, despite the ambiguity and confusion of its formulations, made a sharp break with the classical reformism of the post-war Social Democracy, and gave evidence of a determination not to repeat the terrible mistakes and crimes of the parties which had led the Austrian and German masses to the yoke of Fascism. The Waldmans, Pankens and Gaudels rightly characterized the document as a break with "democratic Socialism," i.e., the cowardly and treacherous Social-Democratic reformism of the war and post-war years.

Though the leftward tendency of the Socialist Party has not achieved programmatic clarity and, in some respects, retrogressive steps were taken at Cleveland, nevertheless the general trend of the party, as measured by the activities of its membership and the increasing violence of its collisions with the extreme right wing of the party, is undoubtedly progressive. This is to be seen, for example, in the fruitful work of the Socialist militants among the unemployed—a field completely neglected in the past; in the tendency to coordinate the work of Socialists in the trade unions, despite the resistance of party reactionaries allied with the trade union bureaucracy; in the first stand of the Left Wing in breaking with the hidebound reactionary opposition to the United Front; and in the steadily increasing interest of the party membership in the fundamental questions of the revolutionary program, above all in the consistent development within the Socialist Party on the question of the struggle against war.

### The Question of War

War is the most crucial issue of this epoch. On this question the Social Democracy founded and collapsed in 1914. On this question, today, both the international Social Democracy and the degenerate Third International reveal their ideological bankruptcy and their readiness to betray the working class to the imperialists. It is this question that divides the proletariat today into the two camps: those who will and those who will not fight against imperialist war.

Along of all the important parties in the Second International, the Socialist Party of America took a firm and courageous stand against capitalist government "sanctions." Along of all these parties, the American party repudiated the fictitious distinction between "peaceful" and "aggressive" capitalist nations. In spite of the terrific barrage of Stalinist pressure, the Socialist Party has continued to develop more clearly and decisively toward a genuinely revolutionary

## Statement of National Committee

The Cleveland convention of the Socialist Party has brought to an organizational climax the internal struggle which had arisen out of the Leftward development in the party. The break with the Old Guard shifts the center of gravity to the Left and facilitates the growth and activity of the party. This, as well as the militant position the party has taken on the crucial question of imperialist war, confronts revolutionary workers throughout the country with a new situation. The composition of the Socialist Party today is no longer what it was under the domination of the Old Guard. Into its ranks have entered a new generation of class-conscious militants, inspired by the spirit of the class struggle, who want to make the party a party of revolutionary Marxism. They represent a movement of great potentialities for the cause of a mass party of socialist revolution in the United States.

The Workers Party, formed to advance the interests of revolutionary internationalism, cannot stand apart from this movement. It is fully conscious of the tremendous importance of this movement for the future of the American and international working class and of the fact that this movement can be advanced more speedily and consistently in the direction in which it has traveled only by the closest, most loyal and direct contact with it.

Unlike the Communist (Stalinist) Party, which has sunk deeper and deeper into the mire of reformism and social-patriotism, the Socialist Party has freed itself from the strangling domination of the Right wing and has advanced towards the position of revolutionary Marxism on a number of basic questions, notably on the question of war, the central question of our time.

Unlike the Communist Party, in which the bureaucracy has stifled every last remnant of party democracy, outlawing all views contrary to those imposed upon the ranks by an appointed officialdom, the Socialist Party openly takes a stand for internal democracy, welcomes revolutionists into its ranks and offers the possibility of putting forward in its

midst the rounded views of consistent revolutionary Marxism.

At its last convention, the National Committee of the Workers Party was instructed to follow closely the developments within the Socialist Party and was given full power to take appropriate action in the event of a favorable outcome of the internal struggle. By virtue of this authority, the National Committee herewith decides to dissolve the Workers Party as a separate organization and calls upon all its members to enter the ranks of the Socialist Party of America. It appeals to all revolutionary workers to follow this example.

The comrades who have been grouped in the Workers Party join not as a separate faction, and take their places side by side with the militant fighters in the ranks of the S.P. with the aim of building it into a mass party of revolutionary socialism. We aim to work loyally and devotedly in the ranks of the Socialist Party and to observe discipline in action. We enter the Socialist Party as we are, with our ideas. We assume all the obligations and duties of party membership and ask no special privileges. On the basis of equal duties and equal rights we obligate ourselves to work loyally and devotedly to build the Socialist Party into a powerful, united organization in the revolutionary struggle for socialism.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,  
WORKERS PARTY OF THE U. S.

The National Committee of the Spartacus Youth League endorses the declaration of the Workers Party. By the authority of the last convention, the National Committee hereby formally dissolves the Spartacus Youth League and calls upon all its members and sympathizers to take their place in the ranks of the Young People's Socialist League.

NATIONAL COMMITTEE,  
SPARTACUS YOUTH LEAGUE.

revolutionary conception of the nature of the proletarian struggle against war. In this field the Cleveland convention made its most important theoretical contribution, adopting a detailed resolution which goes further in the direction of a Leninist position against war than any Socialist party has ever done.

Naturally, it remains to be seen to what extent this developing position on war has been and will be assimilated by the party membership. Undoubtedly, this position will not become fully integrated into the actions of the Socialist Party without a systematic educational campaign. Such an educational campaign will scarcely be complete unless it involves all the basic questions which are inextricably involved in the war question—the international nature of the class struggle, the road to power, the nature of the workers' state, etc.—questions on which clarity in the Socialist ranks lags considerably behind the development of the war issue.

### The Break With the Old Guard

Indeed, the most basic and far-reaching gains made by the Socialist Party do not yet lie in the realm of theoretical clarification. The revolutionary potentialities in the Socialist Party have been best expressed by

Roosevelt camp; comfortable, aging Philistines, stern and implacable only against revolutionists and militants,—for a decade and a half these traitors poured their poison into the minds and hearts of Socialist workers. The socialist worker, seeking a way out from capitalism, could find guidance, in all those years, only in the venal and corrupt Jewish Forward or its English version, the New Leader. The worker or student seeking to learn something of scientific socialism was delivered into the hands of the Algeron Lees and the Round School! Groups of workers engaged in struggle against repressive administration in their unions, if they were naive enough to bring their problems to the Julius Gerbers, were betrayed to the bureaucrats not only by being restrained from struggle, but also by the direct process of stool-pigeoning. The Old Guard gave aid to not a single one of the important struggles for democratic rights on behalf of political prisoners! They did not lift a finger to aid the organization of the millions of unemployed. Under their regime, the Socialist Party had all the vices of the European Social Democracy without even the advantage of being the party of the masses.

### Degeneration of the Communist Party

Now the Socialist workers are freed of this horrible, parasitic excrescence. At first thought, indeed, it appears incredible that thousands of militant workers and youth could have joined the Socialist movement while the Old Guard ruled the party. They joined, of course in spite of the Old Guard. The main influx has come since 1928. That influx was only possible because of the degeneration of the Communist Party.

The revolutionary workers have been joining the Socialist Party since 1928 because the relative autonomy of state and local organizations made it possible for them to function in it, even though under fearful handicaps. In the Communist Party, they could not function at all. It is no mere coincidence that the Socialist Party has grown precisely in the years since the Communist Party, yoked to the "national Socialism" of Stalin, ceased in actual fact to be a party. It is no accident that the growth of the Socialist Party began in the same year that we, then the Left Opposition, were expelled from the Communist Party. The C. P. became nothing more than a rigid apparatus-clique; even the memory of party democracy disappeared; seditious and nonentities were appointed by Stalin and concentrated overnight as "beloved leaders"; party policies are infinitely closer to those of the Old Guard than to those of militant Socialism. From this repellent caricature of a revolutionary organization, an organization neither revolutionary nor a party, thousands of revolutionary workers recoiled. Instead, they joined the Socialist Party. From the first they chafed at the Philistine passivity imposed by the Old Guard, and now they have smashed through the Old Guard.

It is extraordinary, indeed, to contemplate the dialectics of this swift development. The Socialist Party is left an empty shell by the surge of revolutionists to the Communist Party in 1919. But the Communist Party becomes a stifling apparatus. Workers recoil and enter the Socialist Party and give it new life. But in the process they have also transformed the party and driven out the Old Guard Democrats who controlled it. Thus the drive of the proletariat to revolutionary organization asserts itself in spite of all obstacles.

### Party Democracy

That drive is, of course, not completed. It is just beginning and will not end this side of the American proletarian revolution. The Socialist workers are now in a state of evolution toward a consistent Marxist conception of their tasks. Not the least of the forms that dialectics takes is the conflict, the give and take, of ideas about theory, strategy and tactics. Only that which is dead—like the prison regime of the Old Guard and the caricature of monarchism which is the Communist Party—provides no arena for ideological differentiation. The mature revolutionist seasoned in the front lines of the class struggle, conscious of the manifold practical problems of the party and the signif-

(Continued on Page 3)

## WHY WE ARE JOINING THE SOCIALIST PARTY

APPEARANCE: (JAMES P. CANNON  
(A. J. MUSTE  
MAX SHACHTMAN, CHAIRMAN

Friday Evening, June 12, 1936

IRVING PLAZA HALL  
1516 STREET & IRVING PLACE  
NEW YORK, N. Y.

at 8 o'clock







# Stalin Desroys

## Bolsheviks Hounded; Class Enemy Granted New Rights

It is possible to learn how "Trotskyists" are unseated by reading a telegram from Krasn prospect, dated January 17, issue of Pravda under the following scorching: "The Trotskyist Calumny of Sorvizer." It appears that during a district membership meeting in Krasn prospect, Sorvizer, the director of the machine and tractor station criticized the party regime or, as Pravda puts it, "he openly and brazenly calumniated the party, denigrating that conscious discipline exists in the party."

The indignant correspondent states in his telegram that "One would imagine that such a speech would have met with harsh repudiation." However, those present at the meeting listened to Sorvizer without any protest. Taking into account the Stalinist regime this implies that the meeting itself was completely with Sorvizer. Not only the secretary of the District Committee but even the members of the District Committee, i.e., the important party summit group, not daring evidently to protest too much counter to the mood of the meeting. "Only towards the end of the meeting, as a consequence of the indignation expressed by individual (!) Communists," reads the telegram—did the secretary of the District Committee briefly remark that the criticism of Sorvizer was incorrect and was a repetition of everything "the Trotskyists said in their time." The entire mechanism of the party stands clearly revealed before us. "The individual indignant Communists"—i.e., of course, the author of the correspondence himself, the headman of Pravda, i.e., of only General Secretary, it was only through his direct instructions that the secretary explained to the meeting that the very same criticism of the party regime received by those present with obvious sympathy was nothing else than "Trotskyism." The secretary was unable to do more. It ought to be added that similar episodes occur at hundreds and thousands of party meetings. Whether Sorvizer is actually a

conscious Bolshevik-Leninist or simply arrived independently at similar conclusions, is immaterial.

### Privileges and Repressions

By means of a special decree the Soviet government has abolished all social restrictions in the sphere of education. Henceforth children of former noblemen, capitalists and kulaks will be accepted into the highest institutions of learning on the same plane with the children of workers and peasants. "Today there is no longer any need for these restrictions," announced Stalin at a session of the U.S.S.R. in January, 1936. One would imagine that these words as well as the privilege itself were to be understood in the sense that the stultified socialist society is no longer in need of an artificial defense against the youth of bourgeois descent. The only thing to do would be to give the new decree full effect by the background of liberal measures of this sort, all the more monstrous is the new flood of bureaucratic viciousness against the oppositionists, the masses' representatives against the working class youth, the moment that the latter raises a voice in criticism. As a matter of fact there is no contradiction here. The brutal growth of bourgeois relations in the sphere of the distribution of the articles of consumption, the re-establishment of ranks in the army and the creation of a privileged stratum of "best people" on the basis of personal performance open up the possibility of a career for the self-seeking property of the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, the self-same growth of the bourgeoisie of the bourgeoisie, the removal of restrictions upon those who emerge from the bourgeois milieu and the strengthening of the working class youth naturally supplement one another.

## The Class Nature of the Soviet State

### A Letter from Leon Trotsky

You ask the question of whether the present Soviet system can give way to a "third" form of society, which would be neither capitalist nor socialist. Urbanis believes that precisely this is "state capitalism," identifying the Soviet system with a fascist capitalism. In doing this he completely forgets a small difference: fascism leans in the highly developed productive forces in the framework of the national state system. The Soviet system, even in its present form, imparts a rhythm to the development of the productive forces never before attained. It is not a fiction, but a powerful reality. Nationalization, however, does not only signify that the productive forces are organized and directed according to a plan, but also in the interests of all. The bourgeoisie precludes the new system in these two ways. On the one hand, it reduces the efficiency of planned economy and on the other it consumes an enormous portion of its surplus.

I see that you have nothing in common with Urbanis's formulation, but you think that the Soviet bourgeoisie, in its further development, will be able to adopt the forms of property to its own interests to such a point that it becomes in reality a ruling class. You do not specify these new forms of property. Nor do you know how the living evolution is inexhaustible in its new forms and formations. In this general form, I find it as difficult to adopt as to reject the "third" form of society. Because too many factors must be abstracted for that: In the first place those that are decisive for our revolutionary activity.

Now, forms of property are social forms par excellence. You cite examples—merely taken from the pre-capitalist epoch—where certain forms of property had no great significance. These examples only prove that it is necessary to distinguish the real from the supposed forms of property, i.e., from the real factors (which also have a real function, but on a higher plane).

1935 was a year of "great" reforms for the U.S.S.R. In almost all fields of Soviet life, changes took place which remove the U.S.S.R. ever further from the conquests of October. The re-establishment of grades in the army, the military reform, the reform of the family and finally the academic reform are landmarks on the road of the degeneration of the Soviet state.

We intend to publish in the near future on the academic reform, and by contrast with the academic reform put into effect by the October revolution, show how in 1936 Stalin is liquidating the reform. The question of the revolution of 1917 in the academic field and approaching the model of the Czarist schools with its uniforms and respect for authority. . . . It is known in the schools of the capitalist Nations of Europe.

Every government which does not support itself upon the broad masses of the toilers and the workers, but upon a minority utilizes as a guarantor of its power—just as it utilizes the police apparatus—the education of the youth in a spirit of submission by suppressing all free expression of the beliefs of the school. By creating a state police system of education with supervisors of classes, uniforms, marks, individual memorandums, the State has on the one hand the possibility of controlling all the movements of the scholar and on the other hand it hinders the scholar with the principles of discipline and "order," i.e. with an absolute submission before the class in power. The bourgeois school has as its task not to create the free citizen, but the functionary, the engineer, the doctor, humble and legal slave of the Government. Such was the school in Czarist Russia and so it is in all capitalist countries. Discipline and order in the school is one of the guarantors of discipline and order in the state. Revolutionary parties have always understood the importance of the free expression of the beliefs of the school. That is why it is quite natural that one of the first steps of the Russian revolution in power in 1917 was a radical reform of the school.

The Revolutionary Reform "Voluntary discipline, a spirit of mutual aid, the strictest economy on the basis of complete equality, the collective principle everywhere. . . . that is the principle that will create the citizen we need." ("Basic Principles of the United School of Labor," Izvestia, No. 225, Oct. 16, 1918)

The extract quoted shows the complete incompatibility of the free and revolutionary school in a workers state with the old Czarist school. The proletarian state does not fear the free citizen, it has no need of whips to assure its authority and

that the productive forces continue in their rise, there will remain—in your hypothesis—nothing but the fact that the bureaucracy has succeeded in stabilizing, fortifying and strengthening the existing, really, ideologically and politically (and why not religiously?) This perspective assumes that the great mass of the population patiently accepts the new yoke despite the raising of the level of economy and culture and endures it without offering any resistance, and forever. That is not at all probable. To a certain degree the progress of economy opens great sources of power to the bureaucracy. But this progress is more and more turning against its autonomy and its parasitism.

What perspective opens before us? Very probably a new revolution. This will not be a social revolution, but a political revolution. The bourgeoisie will close the revolution, i.e., social revolutions, and purely political revolutions which took place on the basis of already established property. The theoretical premises of Marx and Lenin did not foresee, in any case, the possibility of the political revolution on the basis of property nationalized by the proletariat. But they did not foresee the parasitism and degeneration of the proletariat dictatorship. Both these things belong to these stages, transitory forms, etc., in the formation of which history is so rich. The general laws of the evolution of capitalism to socialism, as they are established by Marxism, do not lose their force by these "episodes" (very disagreeable to us).

These are a few considerations on the subject of the interesting problem which you have posed to me—and which I send you in all haste.

January 1, 1936

## Czarist/Methods Return in Schools

That is why all discipline "from above" is superfluous. On the contrary, the youth must develop free will without the pressure of authority exercised by the family, by the school or anything else. The school must appeal to the scholars from the People's Commissariat of Education in 1917 said:

"Pupils of the secondary schools must have no right to consider themselves as children, but as free men, their future according to the orders of their parents and their teachers." (Izvestia, October 15, 1917)

The Government under Lenin accomplished a veritable revolution in the academic system. A series of decrees opened a new era in the education of the youth. Above all, the liquidation of the Czarist system.

"Utilization of the system of marks for an estimate of the knowledge or the conduct of a pupil," as announced in all the decrees of the Ministry of Education (No. 50 of the collection of decrees and laws, N.35, published May 31, 1918)

"The wearing of uniforms by . . . pupils . . . as also the distribution of marks and medals at the end of the term are annulled." (361 "Collection of decrees and laws" N. 28, published Feb. 21, 1918).

The most complete liquidation of all the principles of the Czarist system of the youth is the celebrated "Charter of the United School of Labor of the U.S.S.R." "1. All schools so under a single name—The United School of Labor."

"2. The old form of discipline which corrupts the entire life of the school and the unrestrained development of the personality of the child cannot be maintained in the School of Labor. The process of labor itself develops this internal discipline without which collective and rational work of unbreakable order is impossible."

"3. The assignment of obligatory homework is forbidden."

"4. All punishment in school is forbidden."

"5. All admission tests and tests for the graduation from one class to another at the end of the term are annulled."

"6. These detailed extracts are necessary for us for a more complete comparison with the Stalinist decrees of 1936."

The Soviet pupil ceases to be a pupil of "labor" in the spirit of the Czarist-bourgeois state, but becomes an independent citizen, with the right to exercise his own initiative, his free thought and his will.

power, the bureaucracy no longer tolerated any expression of free thought. It demands absolute submission. This regime was similarly introduced in the school. Autonomy of the pupils is supplanted by police surveillance of adults—this is to guarantee the state from the spirit of opposition.

The decree on academic reform, published by the Council of People's Commissars, Sept. 3, 1935 makes a complete sweep of everything introduced by the October Revolution and returns to the methods of education established by "Czarist Russia." Let us examine this decree as published in Pravda, Sept. 4, 1935, closer. The principal clause is the following:

"Underlying the ruling on the conduct of pupils must be placed a strict and conscientious application of discipline, politeness in relation with teachers, comrades and adults."

"What are the measures taken to ensure that the pupils apply this discipline?" "Instruct a commission . . . to elaborate a draft of a ruling for every type of school. The ruling must have a categorical and absolutely obligatory meaning for pupils as well as for teachers. This ruling must be the fundamental document . . . which strictly establishes the regime of studies and the basis for order in the school as well as the rules of conduct of pupils inside and outside of school."

"To introduce in all schools a uniform type of pupils' report card on which all the principal rules for the conduct of the pupil is to be inscribed."

"Every director is instructed to establish a personal record for every pupil." (Pravda, Sept. 4, 1935).

"The People's Commissariat of Public Education has established new methods for the pupils' report card and for the pupils' memorandum. . . . Every day the chief instructor of a class will examine the memorandums, will mark cases of absence and tardiness in it and will demand the signature of the parent under all remarks of the instructor."

"In order to record there will be marked for the entire duration of the studies, the marks of the pupil for every quarter, his prizes and his punishments." (Izvestia, Jan. 15, 1936)

A special apparatus of Communist Youth organizers is to be installed for the surveillance of the pupils inside and outside of school. . . . To watch over the morality and the state of mind of the pupils. They, better than the directors, the instructors and the parents, are to watch over the internal life of the adolescents. (Molodaya Gvardia, N. 10)

To facilitate control outside of

## Bureaucracy Strangles the Factory Committees

When a worker abroad asks a question about the conditions of the workers in the U.S.S.R., he is not interested only in the material conditions of labor (wages, length of the working day) but also in the place of the workers in production. The most important conquest of October was the occupation of the factories by the working class. It had become proprietor of all the means of production. The factory committees had two extremely important tasks: the control of production, struggle for the improvement of the conditions of labor and the strengthening of the proletarian dictatorship.

What is the role of the factory committees at the present time? Nothing remains of the role they played in the past. With the degeneration of the proletarian dictatorship, the trade unions, the factory committees have also undergone a transformation. Their role now is that of a superintendence, an aid to the economic organs. They are not connected with the entire bureaucratic apparatus of the U.S.S.R. It is no longer the representative of the working class, controlled by the workers in the factory, but rather a group of functionaries under orders of the bureaucratic top.

There is rarely any information in the Soviet press on the real life of the factory committees and their relation to the working class. Only when it is impossible for them to remain silent on some important fact does the bureaucracy itself go in for "self-criticism" and accuse the workers of "obtuseness" struggling against the "bureaucracy."

To allow the reader to form his own judgment on the real life of the factory committees I will cite several facts culled from the central organs of the Soviet trade unions. "Trud." These facts do not pretend to give a complete picture of the life of the factory committees but should however provide useful information.

"Trud" (Jan. 1, 1936) gives the following report of the life of the factory committee of the textile corporation at Tashkent: "For the first time in three years, the working men and women of the corporation met in conference to hear the report of the outgoing factory committee and to elect a new one. Out of the 19 members elected three years ago only one remained. All the other members of the committee were appointed."

It is clear that the workers learned nothing from the report of activity of the committees. During the discussion the indignation of the workers against the "bureaucracy" of some 50 of those present. (The small number indicates the interest the workers have in conferences of this kind). What did they speak about? They told of 70 men in the apparatus of the committee who did nothing but were paid and that thousands of rubles were expended to maintain them. They told of the payment section with the women workers: "When we came to him to obtain authorization for a sanitarium, he shamelessly proposed to us to call on him at his home." When the workers pleaded with the president of the factory committee, he replied:

"I have no objection to your going to the sanitarium, but you must first pay for it." These few facts present a partial picture of the real situation in the factories of the U.S.S.R. The working class of the U.S.S.R. works under extremely painful material conditions because the Soviet bureaucracy sees in the workers only a force of labor whose duty it is to execute the plan, to increase output and production.

school they deserve:

"To establish one uniform for scholars." (Pravda, Sept. 4, 1935).

In comparing the decree of 4-9-1935 with that of 1918, we see that all that the victorious revolution had annulled of the cursed heritage of the past is now re-established.

Autonomy and independence in 1918—strict discipline and "politeness" towards the adults in 1935.

Abolition of the uniform in 1918—re-establishment of the uniform in 1935.

Abolition of marks and examinations in 1918—re-establishment of marks and examinations in 1935.

Abolition of surveillance in 1918—re-establishment of the uniform in 1935.

Of the "Charter of the United School of Labor" nothing remains, nothing remains of the school itself.

... .

We have dealt at length with the reform of 1918 and that of 1935-36. Thus the recent scholastic reform (annulling that of the October Revolution) is only a link in the chain of the degeneration of the Soviet regime. The party is shameful, all rights for the workers are suppressed and the Soviet pupil is dressed in the pre-revolutionary uniform, dyed only in a new tint. This is "Socialism being built in one country!"

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## Workers Party Joins the Socialist Party

(Continued from Page 1)

ance of the day to day drudgery, knows very well what a powerful aid to these tasks is the clarifying word, the sharp arrow pointing out the road ahead. Theory and practice go hand in hand in a healthy revolutionary movement. Naturally, there are differences that arise at every crucial turning of the road. These differences among the membership, and not decided by bureaucratic decrees of self-constituted Popes. A party without democracy is not a party. The best and, indeed, the only guarantee for a normal solution of disputed questions is the fullest democracy in educational work and discussion, coupled with an attitude of responsibility and discipline. There is only one cure for the terrible blight of mental stultification which Stalinism and Old Guardism have brought into the labor movement: we must recapture, and make a living part of the heritage of the revolutionary movement, the Marxist principle that the free discussion of ideas is the only method whereby the proletarian vanguard can collectively hammer out the correct program that it needs if it is to work out the salvation of the human race.

We are confident that in such an atmosphere of democracy and discipline, the Socialist Party will grow as never before. Already, with the ousting of the Old Guard in New York and the simultaneous influx of revolutionary elements the party has taken a swift leap forward in membership and activity. The party is still in relation to the American working class, in its practical impact upon it, primarily a propaganda organization. But it is today the party that can give the correct developments within it, become the party of the masses. We revolutionary internationalists who are called "Trotskyists" begin our work in the Socialist Party with the fullest confidence in the outlook for the future.

We are not afraid of isolation. There are times when the revolutionists, if they are to remain true to their principles, have no other alternative. For more than seven years we endured repression and slander, contumely and physical assault in an isolated struggle for principle. We survived. We are proud of our struggle. We retract nothing and repent nothing. We are not afraid of isolation when circumstances impose it. But no less courage is required to turn away from isolation and move toward the mass party when conditions open the way for such a step. It would be sectarian folly to reject the opportunity to participate in a broader movement, bringing to it all our heritage and all our ideas, which have been confirmed by every development in the international working class movement.

Joining the Socialist Party as we are, with our ideas and traditions, we urge all revolutionary workers to do likewise and to add their energies to the efforts of the many thousands of socialist workers in a common struggle to build a powerful party of revolutionary Socialism.

## ANNOUNCEMENT

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# Blum and Stalinists Place Preservation of Capitalist Order Above Workers' Interests

One million French workers have occupied 530 key plants, shops, mines and factories across the whole of France.

To end the spontaneous sit-down strike that paralyzed French industry, to stifle the tendencies which workers in Northern France tried to raise red flags over their factories, the Socialist Premier Leon Blum, supported by the French Socialist party and the General Confederation of Labor, has rushed through a "settlement" of their immediate demands which in the present state of French economy can have no reality.

While in a few plants, workers resumed or opened negotiations, the announcement of Blum's settlement was greeted with a new wave of strikes, including 150,000 miners in the north and 10,000 white collar insurance company employees in Paris. In grand total rose over one million.

"We are facing a situation in which every hour counts," declared Blum, bringing laws to the Chamber to implement the settlement.

The fundamental function of the "settlement" is to ward off the immediate threat of the workers' offensive. It will drag them into negotiations, keep them solid and destroy their unity. In the meantime, the French bourgeoisie and its Fascist gangs will have ample time to prepare to take hold when the People's Front government of Leon Blum has served its purpose.

For the moment, the French bourgeoisie is heeding the urgent, piteous plea of the French Stalinists who on June 5 "warned" employers that in the present international situation, a prolongation of their resistance is endangering the security of the country." (Daily Worker, June 5.)

### Workers Take Possession

While "Blum pleaded" with the workers to end their strike, while Thorez-Cachin and Co. "bureaucratically" supported Blum, workers in shop after shop laid down their tools and took possession, grimly ignoring the Socialist pretence of saving into power, grimly mistrustful of his avowed determination to "preserve the capitalist order."

The tremendous strike movement of the last fourteen days hurls the workers into the teeth of the People's Front who declare that the French proletariat is not yet ripe for power. It was the great leftward swing of the masses which piled up the great People's Front majority in the recent elections. It was the same swing, moving way beyond the leaders of the two big parties and the unified labor federation, which produced the great strikes of the past fortnight.

### Action Spontaneous

Neither the Socialist Party, coming to power in a bourgeois coalition government, nor the Stalinists who support that government, nor the trade union bureaucracy, issued any strike call. The workers' action came out without and despite all of them.

Not an industry was unaffected; steel, coal, munitions, automobiles, telephones, textiles, food, building, paper, press, department stores, trucking and transport. Germinating in sporadic strikes in scattered plants throughout the month of May, the movement culminated in the great occupation of factories on May 26. With a surge that came from the most profound depths of the working class, hundreds of thousands of workers in one time stopped most of the key wheels of French industrial life.

Their conscious demands were simple: for a 40-hour week; for increases in wages; for more control in the shop; for the right to strike; for little as three francs (35c) a day; for collective contracts; for vacations with pay.

### Crisis-Wracks France

But the unrealized implication underlying the great strike wave went far beyond the demands French capitalism is in acute crisis. It has reached the end of its rope. Its government has been living from day to day, on the verge of collapse, on the wages of its employees and its pensioners. The cost of living is prohibitive. The French monetary system is being strained beyond its capacity to endure. It was to change all this, to win security for themselves and their families, that the workers of France have moved into the political arena in the last two years.

Their leftward surge, accompanied by a broad analogous trend of the impoverished petty bourgeoisie, hard hit by the crisis, forced the working class parties into a sudden front. This anti-front, led by the leading workers from struggle to struggle, against the bosses and their Fascist hired men, kicked itself out in the liberal bourgeoisie, dragged the workers into an alliance with their own bitter enemies. The workers strained to battle for their own future, for their bread. The spontaneous struggles at Brest and Toulon last August revealed their bitter hatred for their paid lack of the bourgeois state apparatus. Toulon and Brest were denounced by the Stalinists

## Stalinists Incite Pogrom Against Revolutionists at Commune Rally

PARIS, May 25.—While last year the traditional demonstration at the Wall of the Federals at the Fete-Lesclapier in commemoration of the victims of the Commune, took place under the cloud of the Stalin-Laval declarations, the Stalinists, depressed over the loss of the elections of the Bolshevik-Leninists, the Revolutionary Socialist Youth and the anarchists, who they shouted "Sac au dos" (soldiers pack on your shoulders) at them and danced a pious round them without any serious scruples ensuing, this year the demonstration was turned into a veritable mass pogrom against the revolutionists.

For the first time, proud of their electoral victory and conscious of their role as policemen of the incoming government of the "People's Front," the Stalinists, for the first time, stood alone in the line of march against the Bolshevik-Leninists, the Revolutionary Socialist Youth and the International Communist Party, and the anarchists, who formed a column of more than 1,000 people, but organized an ambush at the entry to the cemetery in order to prevent the revolutionists

from marching past the sacred wall, occupied by the Stalinist and Socialist bureaucrats together with the future Prime Minister, Leon Blum.

Before the supporters of the Fourth International arrived at the entry to the cemetery, the Stalinists and the Bolshevik-Leninists, the Revolutionary Socialist Youth and the anarchists, who they shouted "Sac au dos" (soldiers pack on your shoulders) at them and danced a pious round them without any serious scruples ensuing, this year the demonstration was turned into a veritable mass pogrom against the revolutionists.

be in a state of anarchy. The People's Front stands for order" (N. Y. Times, June 4.)

Blum worked no miracles. "The strikes in the Paris district and throughout the country, instead of diminishing spread . . ." (N. Y. Times, June 5.)

The first cabinet meeting issued a communiqué: "The government has decided on the utmost efforts to conclude a rapid and happy (?) solution of the strike." (N. Y. Times, June 5.)

Gov't Prepares Strikebreaking

Blum went to the radio to spread the good word. "I appealed for calm." "I hope the employers will show the greatest possible consideration for the workers."

But when he spoke new strikes broke. Blum's appeal for calm was greeted with 254 new strikes within less than 25 hours.

He asked the strikers to be patient, to have confidence, to try to prevent the situation from becoming a general strike. To be effective, the government must have public security. It would

be paralyzed by an infirming of order, by any interruption in the vital services of the nation."

At the same time it was openly announced that the government was preparing to act as a strikebreaker. "The P. P. resolution on June 5, was planning an emergency railway service in the event of a general transport strike."

Blum appealed for "industrial peace." This appeal, reported the Herald-Tribune on June 5, was well received by the French press, but failed to make any visible impression on the French strikes, which continued to spread.

"It is fully realized," said the Times, "that the situation is filled with danger and that the government must act quickly to get control of the strike by leading it and settling the workers' confidence that the electoral program of the People's Front will be carried out."

### On Other Side of Barriers

Backing Blum to the hilt, the Stalinists continued unflinchingly to play their assigned role.

Andre Marais, French bourgeois writer, described it in the N. Y. Times of May 31 in the following terms: "The program . . . of the Communist leaders is not at all revolutionary. . . . The Russian Communists who took aid of France have no desire to see France weakened by disunion."

This description was amplified on June 7 by no less a personage than Albert Sarraut, the outgoing premier, who told the Communist of all responsibility for the strike: "It could not be that Moscow, which desired to encourage the military strength of France in order to defend itself against Germany, would wish to see disorder in the country, unless the Soviet Government is returning to its early ideals of fomenting world revolution." (N. Y. Times, June 8.)

What has been the role of the Stalinists since the election?

From the "Left" Republic of the strike who now govern Spain, Prieto has bitterly attacked the strikes because they debilitate the country. He and his colleagues have a perceptive of decades of collaboration with the republican bourgeoisie. They wish to enter the government to form a coalition cabinet.

The Left Wing Socialists are an extremely heterogeneous combination. Certainly Caballero, who he rides the crest of its wave today, is not its authentic head. The same breath Caballero declares that Lenin's prediction that Spain will be the second Soviet republic in Europe is about to be realized and that he will oppose the party's collaboration in the government if the convention so decides. He denounces the syndicalist movement as a vile attack on the proletariat in all times of strikes (and this is true enough), but the reason why the syndicalists are so hated is that they do offer the workers some form of action, whereas Caballero, who heads the General Union of Workers, has no leadership at all. He carries on a civil flirtation with the Stalinists, who support the Popular Front Government, and denounces the workers with the slogan of unity of all workers' organizations as a panacea.

Much more indicative of the chasm which separates the two Socialist tendencies are the hundreds of strikes led by the Stalinists. The Stalinists put up in a number of provinces during the Presidential election the occupation of factories by the workers. The Stalinists continued unflinchingly to play their assigned role.

On May 9 the French Stalinist party officially pledged its unreserved support to Leon Blum. "It is necessary to assure at any price the triumph of the experiment we are about to launch." (L'Humanite, May 10. Emphasis in original).

"Those who voted Communist, perhaps did not vote for the Soviet Union, but they did vote for the security of the country. . . . Our people demand that the agonizing threat of the civil war leagues come to an end." (Thorez, L'Humanite, May 10.)

The Communists called for Popular Front committees but hastened to explain on May 15 that these committees "would in no sense be intended to substitute for existing political parties or government institutions. It is only a question of actively seconding the government. . . ." (L'Humanite, May 15.)

### C.F. Urges Workers Return

On May 29, in the first stages of the strike, the Union press reported that the responsible leaders of the labor unions and the Communist Party were urging their members to go back to work.

On June 4, they issued a statement "calling" the strike. At the same time the leading committee of the Communist Party promised the Blum government its loyal support and urged continued unity and discipline in the People's Front. . . . (Daily Worker, June 5.)

### Political Acts of Strike

Following Blum's radio speech appealing for "industrial peace," the Stalinists issued a special night edition of L'Humanite in which they fully supported the government's announced legislative program. (Daily Worker, June 5.)

On June 6 workers in Paris broke out into the first violence of the strike, but what was more important, carried out one of the first clearly political acts of the strike: They burned issues of the capitalist papers, L'Humanite and Le Soir. They stored the press in the streets. The Stalinist Daily Worker, which had devoted itself to the strike where the big bourgeois papers were giving it columns and whole pages, announced that it would continue to publish. Spikes and rioting reign everywhere, despite alarmist stories printed with the aim of provoking disturbances."

And in the same article: "The Communist Party has reaffirmed its support of the Blum government."

### God Forbid!

"The capitalist press," adds the Daily Worker, "will, as usual, be silent or vague on what the workers are striking for, and may even attempt to misrepresent the strikes as being 'revolutionary.'"

"And that would be the worst crime of all to call these strikes 'revolutionary' only less because a crime than the French workers would themselves commit if they went ahead and made their revolution."

"Order will ensure success," appealed L'Humanite on June 6. "We are sure that the people of France will preserve the magnificent masses that might lead it to be displayed for several weeks."

Jouhaux, the Bill Green of France, also, in a radio speech, "defended the strikers' movement" but warned them again of any manifestation that might lead to conflict with opposition organizations.

All together they cheered Leon Blum in the Chamber on June 6 when he daily declared: "We shall govern as republicans, but we shall guarantee the Republican order."

### Strikes Continue

Socialist, Stalinist and C.G.T. appeals did not check the movement. The strikes mounted daily. The day after the Chamber vote, the Communist Party urged its members to continue the strike. . . . (Daily Worker, June 6.)

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The coming period in France must provide the answer. The French workers, with their magnificent strength, their reserves and their readiness for the last struggle, must give that answer. To help them give it in favor of the revolutionary way out, the Bolshevik-Leninists of France in the present situation are tirelessly advancing the following demands:

1. Immediate and full amnesty.
2. 40-hour week without pay cuts, collective contracts, unemployment insurance.
3. Nationalization of production; nationalization of the big industries.
4. Fusion of all private banks into one (the Bank of France included); nationalization of credit to be distributed by the State to the workers, peasants and small business.
5. Political rights for soldiers; abolition of the 2-year military service; reduction of the war budget.
6. Arrest of the Fascist leaders; organization of a Workers' Militia; arming of the proletariat.
7. Formation of mass committees in shops, factories and localities to carry out the workers' own program.

The program of the Bolshevik-Leninists is a program for a Workers' Peasants' Government. It demands a decisive break with the capitalist order and all its representatives and backers in the Radical party and calls for the offensive toward the workers' power.